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ABSTRACT

Even though the mechanisms for policy input are limited, there exists a need for a link between the theoretical, the empirical, and the applied. This study proposed a viable mechanism for meeting the challenge of accountability for both the social scientist and the architect. A process model was developed by a sociologist and an architect which allowed them to cooperate as a "design team". The model consisted of 6 phases: initiation, research, planning (design), implementation, evaluation, and post-evaluation data. This model was tested and implemented at the San Juan Homes, a low-income, predominantly Mexican American public housing project located in southwest San Antonio. User-input data were obtained by interviewing 77 families with a 54-item questionnaire designed to elicit demographic characteristics, evaluation of existing facilities, physical and social conditions, police and safety, resident needs and wants, work patterns and contingencies, neighboring patterns, locus of control measures, duration of residence, residence projections, and attitudes toward living in the project. The model was found to be both practicable and productive. Positive returns indicated an increasing accountability for both the social scientists and the architect. This report follows the model through phase 3; phases 4, 5, and 6 will be explored during and following construction. (NQ)

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Sociology and Architecture As A Nexus For Action: Redesigning For a Mexican-American Housing Project

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I

The Age of Accountability

Increasing internal pressures, within the discipline(s), and external pressures, especially purse-string resources and growing economic and social strains are calling for increasing social science "accountability" (Gibbs, 1975). When asked what have the sciences done for us, the physical sciences can point to a long list of impressive accomplishments: longer life, nuclear fission, space travel, ad infinitum. When the same question is posed for the social scientist, even the most glib will be hard put for an answer! Even when our theories and research do have policy implications, what mechanisms have we devised for dissemination of such data to the policy makers? The mechanisms for policy input are limited, yet the tenor of the times demands a nexus between the theoretical, the empirical and the applied. As Gibbs puts it "unless sociology undergoes a radical change, the elites of post-industrial society will decide they can do without us... sociology will be deprived of the resources it now commands. The resources now exceed our collective accomplishments and sooner or later there will be an accounting." (1975:1)

The purpose of this research is to propose a viable mechanism for meeting the challenge of accountability. It is ludicrous to believe that the social scientist can be all things to all people--theorist, empiricist

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and practitioner, this is simply a very inefficient division of labor. But the social scientist can, where his theories and research do have policy implications and he seeks predictability rather than the "gadfly phenomenon", develop a working relationship with the pragmatic disciplines and practitioners which define policy and put it into practice, i.e. engineering, education, architecture, public administration.

II

Sociology and Architecture-A Case Study

Designers, architects and city planners make policy decisions everyday, decisions which have impact on the quality of urban life - today and tomorrow. To the extent that urban sociology has made a forte toward understanding some of the ways in which human social behavior articulates in a systematic fashion with the physical environment[1], then urban sociology has important policy implication for urban planning and design. "The unfortunate consequences of neglecting sociological variables manifest themselves in many commercial and residential areas" (Gelfand, 1975:13)[2], as well as in the life style of many urban residents.

In a time of accountability, research in these areas is not enough. The social scientist must have some mechanism for transmitting his knowledge. And further, to leave the important processes of planning, implementation, and evaluation completely to the practitioner "represents a failure to maximize the usage of sociological knowledge" (Gelfand, 1975:14). Only the wedding of social scientist as theorist and empiricism and the architect and designer as practitioner will facilitate the optimal utilization of knowledge and resources, and in return, will increase, through evaluation, the predictive powers of the social scientist.

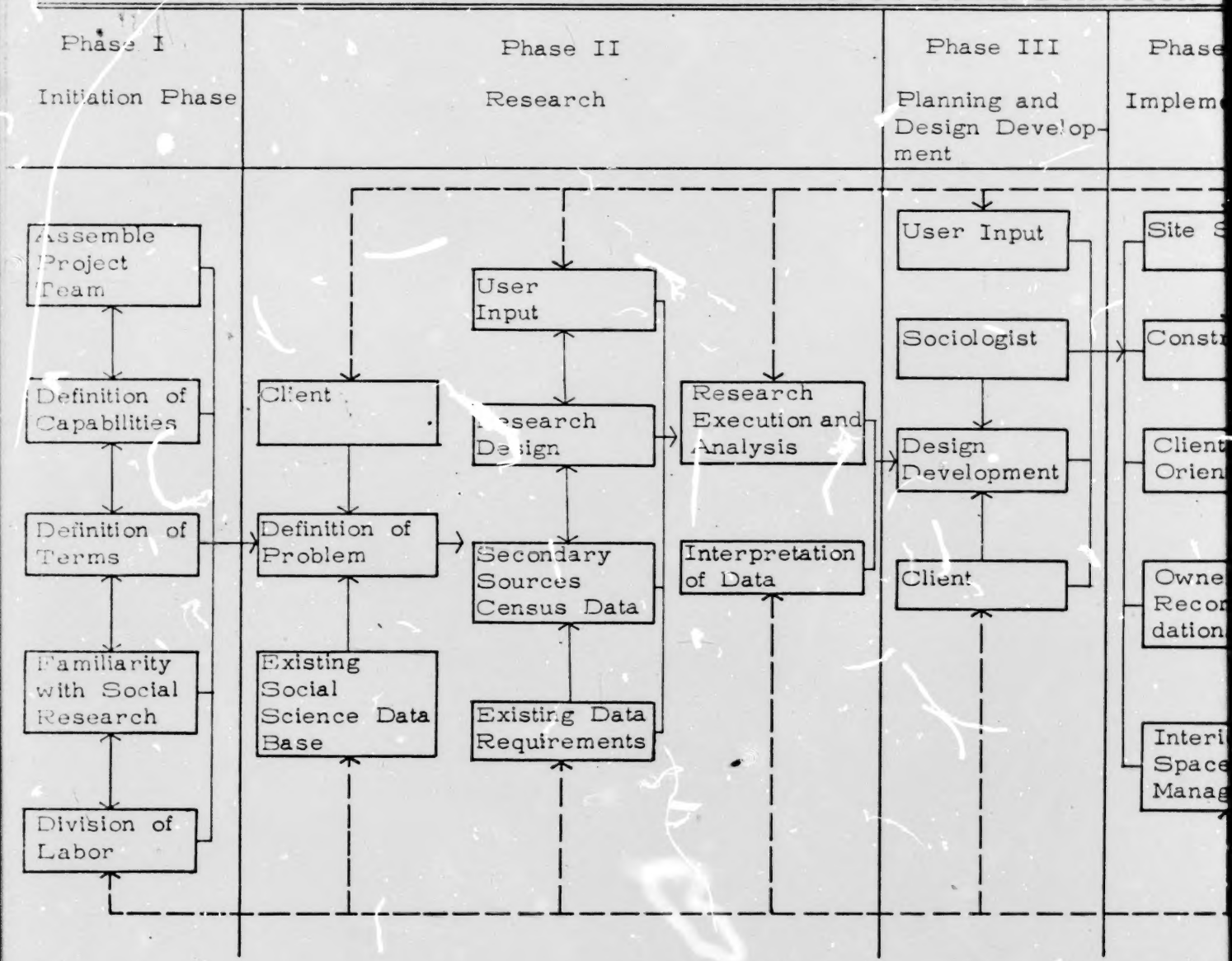
In an effort to implement the admonition in the preceeding paragraph,

the authors, a sociologist and an architect, developed a process model for the collaboration of the social scientist and the architect as a "design team". (See Figure 1) The model specifies six (6) phases which are as follows: 1) Initiation, 2) Research, 3) Planning (Design) 4) Implementation, 5) Evaluation and 6) Post-evaluation Data. Initiation is a sentizing period, in which the disciplinarians each "educate" the other and adjudicate conceptual and linguistic differences. The sociologist's prime phases of entree are Initiation,[3,4] Research, Evaluation and Post-evaluation Data), yet he provides some input into each phase.

The "design problem" selected for testing and implementing the process model was the San Juan Homes, a low-income, predominately Mexican-American, public housing project located in southwest San Antonio. The site selection was predicated upon four rationale: 1) although theories of what constitutes "good" public housing abound in the literature, there appears to be a general gap between theory and practice (Goodman, 1960) thus, such projects are usually plagued by a lack of privacy, security, maintenance, recreation and community interaction and integration;[5] 2) evaluation of an existing site would afford the opportunity to utilize social science techniques, principally participant observation and survey methodology, to review the social consequences of such developments in operation (Michelson's "social review board" idea, 1970:215), and make recommendations predicated upon "informed" knowledge; 3) redesigning for an existing project would facilitate recommendations based upon "user input", and more specifically users' utilization of the existing structure, user evaluation of the existing project, and a user needs assessment (Sommer, 1972)[6] and 4) the availability of funding the design project through the Community Development Act of 1974, which precludes the construction of new low-income public housing, but makes monies available

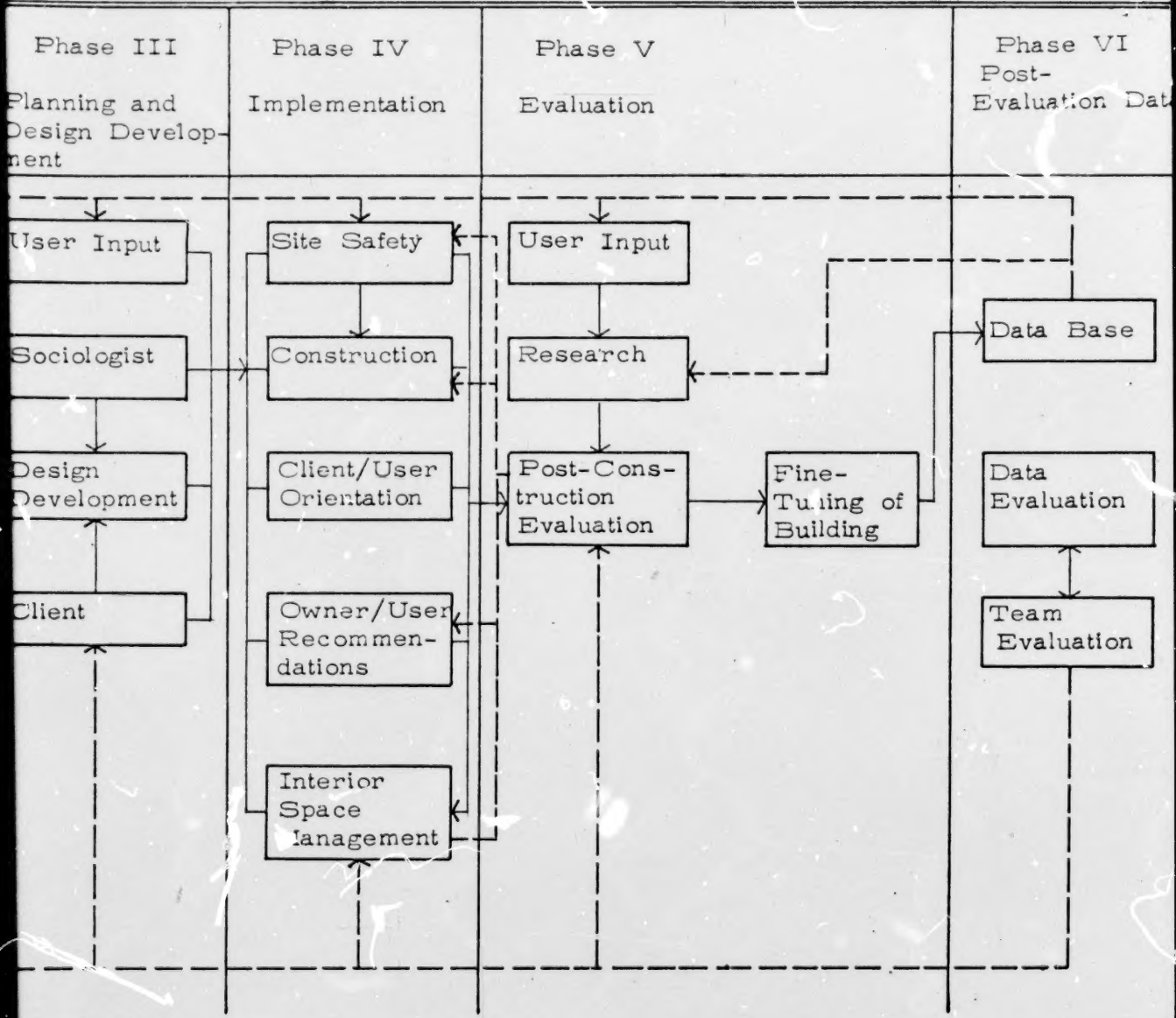
(Figure I)

PROCESS MODEL FOR SOCIOLOGIST AND ARCHITECT COLLABORATION



Source: Sheinberg, S and Ortiz, F. "Sociology And As A Nexus For Action: Redesigning For A Mexican A Project" paper delivered at the Southwestern Sociol Meetings, San Antonio, Texas March 26-29, 1975.

T COLLABORATION



Ortiz, F. "Sociology And Architecture
Redesigning For A Mexican American Housing
at the Southwestern Sociological Assn.
Texas March 26-29, 1975.

for improving existing facilities and providing additional resources to current occupants of low-income public housing.[7]

Methodology

Preliminary Investigation

The design team focused attention upon the first phase of the San Juan Homes, consisting of 204 units, completed in 1953-54 under the public housing act of 1949 (For location see Figure #2) The San Juan Homes are located in census tract #1601 (See Figures #3 and #4) which contains a population of 9,450, more than fifty per cent female, with a median income per family of $4,257, an average of 4.23 members per family and median schooling set at 5.5 years (one of the lowest in San Antonio).

Basic demographics obtained from the San Antonio Authority indicates that 426 of the 446 housing units are occupied by Mexican-American families. More than half of the families, 253, are one parent families, primarily female headed households, all have children, with only 38 household heads employed. The average monthly rental for this group is $22, with the average rental for a resident being $33. The gross income for all families is $2,820 (a little more than half for the total tract), with 315 San Juan families receiving public assistance. The total number of residents numbers 2,016,152 employed and 106 classified as elderly.

Unstructured Interviews and Participant Observation

Unstructured interviews with representatives of the San Antonio Housing Authority yielded the following: 1) the existence of a resident organization for each low-income housing project (with low participation from San Juan); 2) the San Juan Homes are among the "less favorable projects"; 3) the greatest problems mentioned in public housing were

FIGURE II

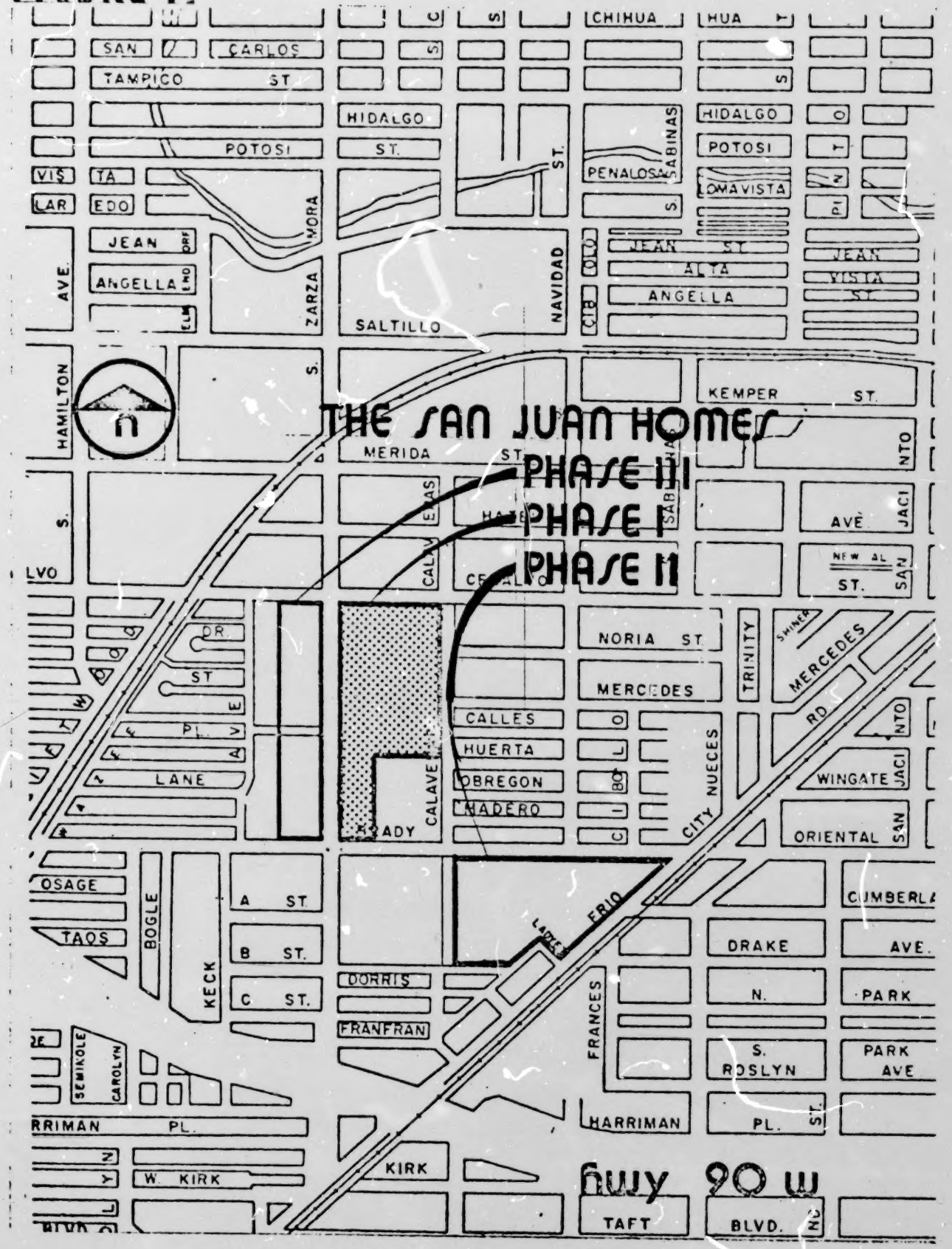

THE SAN JUAN HOMES
PHASE III
PHASE I
PHASE II
SAN CARLOS
TAMPICO ST
HIDALGO ST.
POTOSI
JEAN
ANGELLA
ZARZA
MORA
SALTILLO
NAVIDAD
PENALOSA
SABINAS
HIDALGO
POTOSI
LOMA VISTA
JEAN ST
ALTA VISTA
ANGELLA
HAMILTON AVE.
KEMPER ST.
MERIDA ST.
NORIA ST
MERCEDES
CALLES
HUERTA
OBREGON
MADERO
CALAVE
LADY
CITY NUECES
TRINITY
SHINER
MERCEDES RD
WINGATE
ORIENTAL
LANE
OSAGE
TAOS
BOGLE
KECK
A ST.
B ST.
C ST.
DORRIS
FRANFRAN
FRIO
DRAKE
N. PARK
S. ROSLYN
PARK AVE
FRANCES
HARRIMAN PL.
W. KIRK
KIRK
TAFT BLVD.
fwy 90 w

FIGURE III
INCOME CHARACTERISTICS.
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS.
BY CENSUS TRACT. 1970

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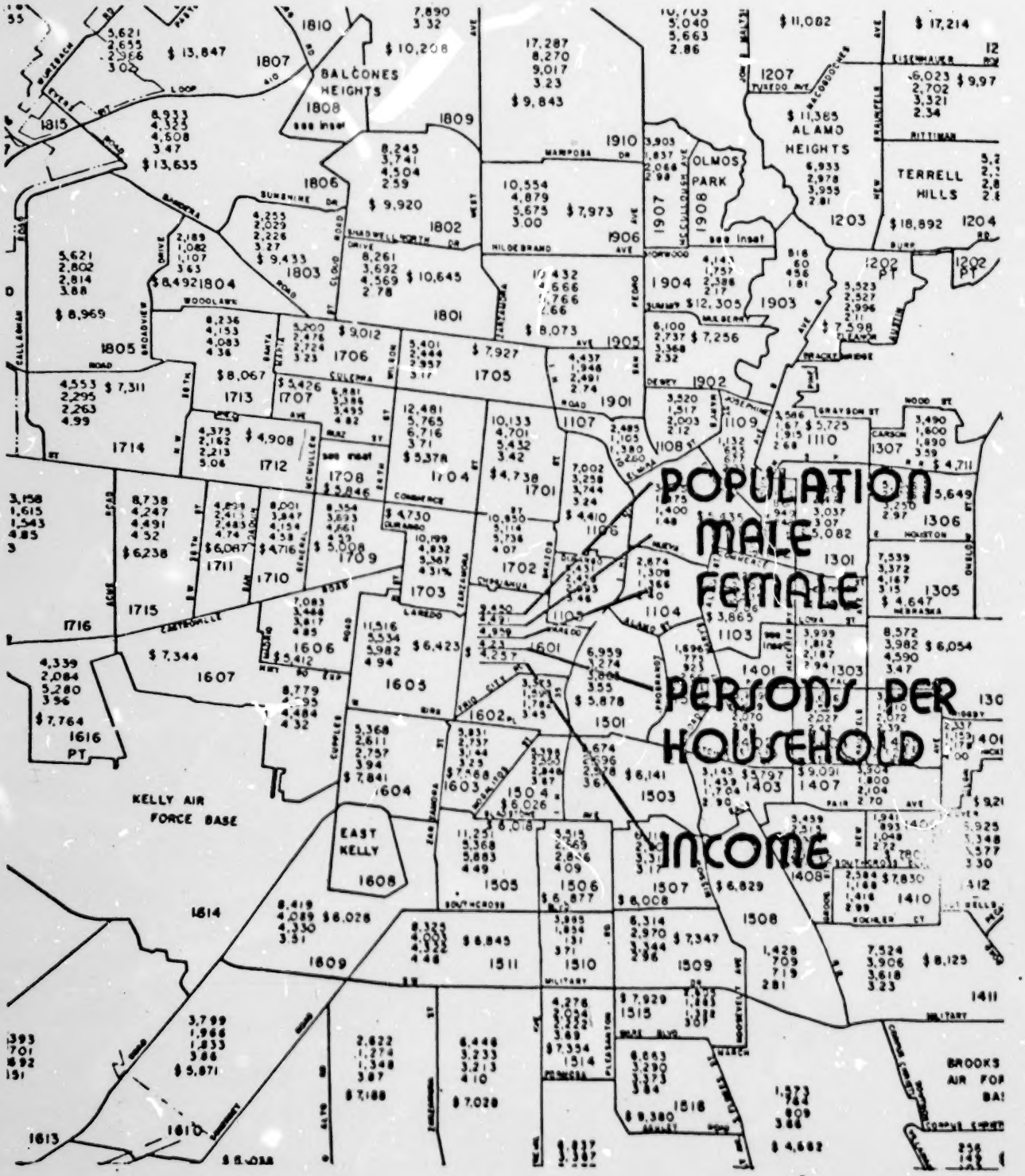

FIGURE IV
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS BY CENSUS TRACT, 1970

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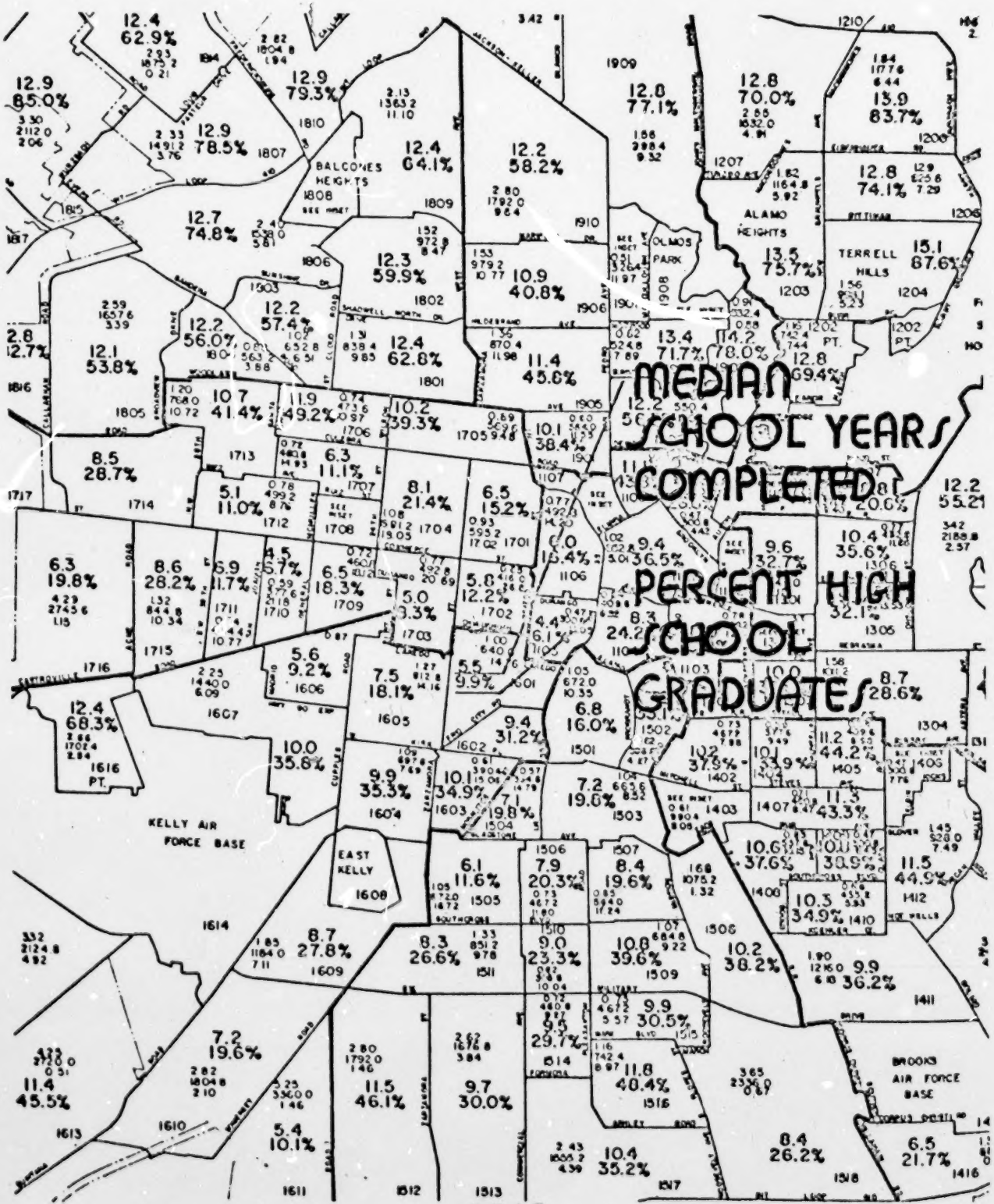

vandalism, lack of economic integration within and outside the housing projects and the minimal funding available for the maintenance of low-income public housing.

Non-participant observation of the site showed many visible signs of resident abuse and vandalism, as well as non-existant playground facilities. Unstructured interviews with residents[8] indicated very low utilization of all social services provided within the project,[9] except childcare. The rationale for non-utilization was the dispersion of locations, and lack of accessibility (See Figure #5, representing existing site plan).

User-Input Survey*

User input data[10] was obtained by interviewing seventy-seven (77) families. The fifty-four (54) item instrument was designed to elicit demographic characteristics, evaluation of existing facilities and conditions, including physical conditions, social conditions and police and safety, resident needs and wants, work patterns and contengencies, neighboring patterns, locus of control measures, duration of residence and residence projections and attitudes toward living in the project. Although only selected data is represented here, an attempt was made to incorporate all data in the design.

The rationale for a user-input survey is not only to provide non-resident users (Sommer, 1972) with input into the design process but, at the same time, provide the architect and designer with the values and other characteristics of the user. To facilitate this communicative

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*We gratefully acknowledge the sixteen interviewers provided by the sociology department of Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas.

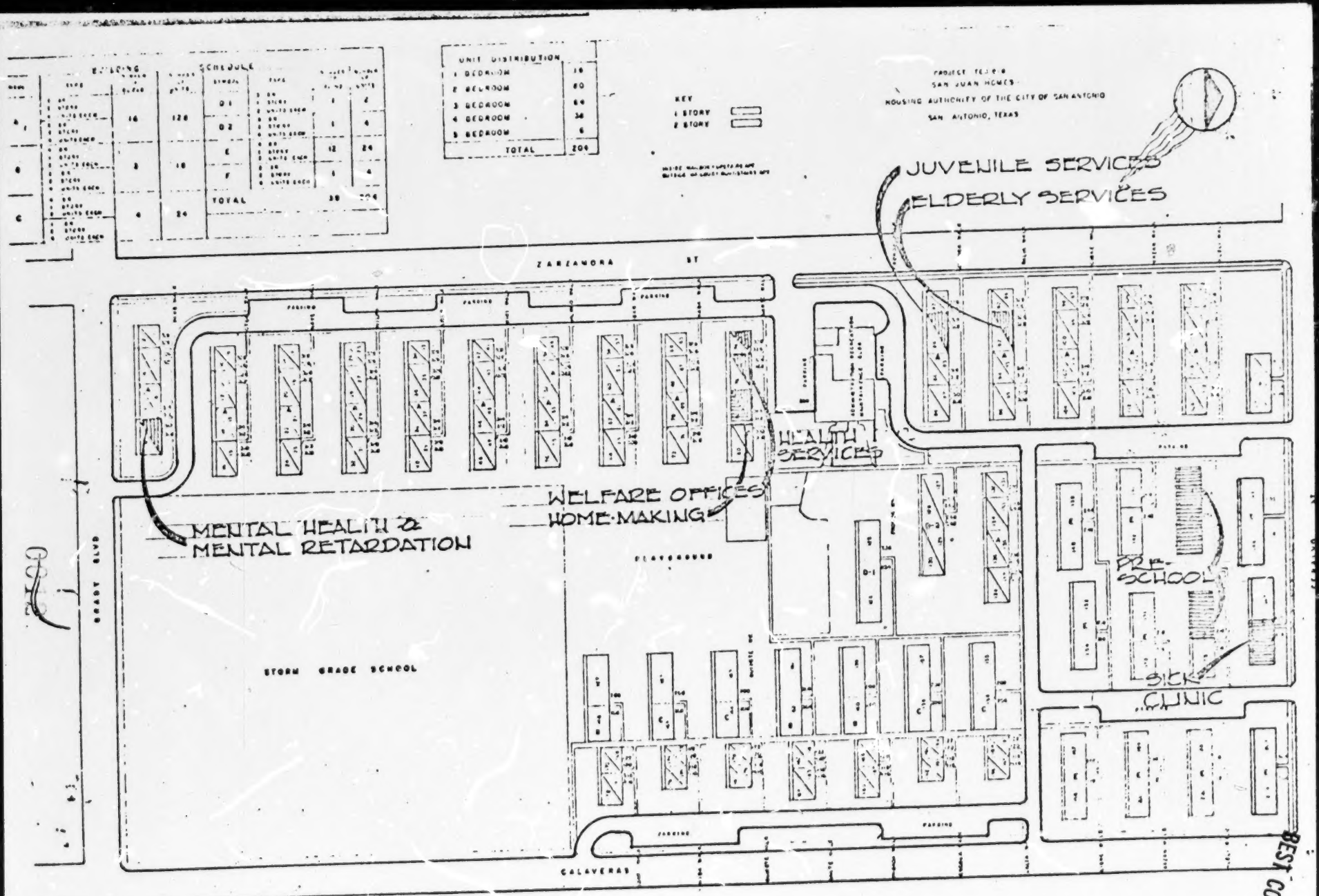

FIGURE V
EXISTING SITE PLAN

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process, the social scientist must go beyond the design, execution and data analysis phase of user input research, he must interpret this data in the light of what else is known about the target population and the urban environment. Thus, as data is summarized, additional interpretation will be made in terms of additional research knowledg

The majority of resident respondents (See Table 1) in the user-input survey were Mexican-American females, predominately single-parent householders, unemployed, with a high proportion of children under the age of ten years. Twenty-one percent were residents of the San Juan Homes for less than one year, the same number were residents from one to three years, 32.5% for four to eight years and 30% over eight years. The sample population appears closely characteristic of the total resident population as described by the area Housing Authorities.

Table 1

Social-Demographic Characteristics (N=77)

Demographic Variable	No.	%
Sex:		
Male	9	11.7
Female	68	88.3
Age:		
30 and Under	43	55.8
31 and Over	34	44.2
Religion:		
Catholic	65	84.4
Other	12	15.6
Marital Status:		
Unmarried	3	3.9
Unmarried W/Children	9	11.7
Married W/Children	25	32.5
Married W/Out Children	4	5.2
Wid-Sep-Div	36	46.8
Race:		
Mexican-American	73	94.8
Other	4	5.2
Employed:		
Yes	7	9.1
No	70	90.9

Table 1 con't

Demographic Variable	No.	%
Education:		
Under 6 Years	35	45.5
6-9 Years	21	27.3
10 Years and Over	21	27.3
Children:		
0-5 Years		
None	31	40.3
One	27	35.1
Two	17	22.1
Three	2	2.6
6-10 Years		
None	37	48.1
One	19	24.7
Two	15	19.5
Three	6	7.8
11-15 Years		
None	39	50.6
One	15	19.5
Two	11	14.3
Three	10	13.3
16-21 Years		
None	54	70.1
One	10	13.0
Two	7	9.1
Three	5	6.5
Length of Residence in San Juan Homes:		
Less than One Year	16	20.8
One to Three Years	16	20.8
Four to Eight Years	25	32.5
Over Eight Years	23	29.9

Project problems, Table 2, as evaluated by residents, grouped into three major categories: physical conditions of the houses, especially age, and need for paint, playground space, and theft and project safety. Playground space and safety again surface as salient variables under project needs, (see Table 3) along with the need for a community center and better project management. Wallace (1952) stresses the need for observable "safe" playground space, especially in low income housing, and Raven (1967) agreements this contention, emphasizing the need for space for play and noise for children who are apartment dwellers. Safety, especially among

lower SES, groups is considered of utmost importance. Rainwater (1966) claims that safety and security are the chief requirements of the lower class in their homes. The dangers that Rainwater discusses are both human and non-human. He further argues that some human, as well as many of the specific non-human dangers can be controlled by adequate housing, and that the average lower class person evaluates his home environment in terms of the adequacy of the housing unit itself in these terms. Rainwater's arguments appear supportive of our finding indicating a significant relationship between project safety and project satisfaction ($p \leq .01$) among project residents. (See Table 4).

Table 2

Project Problems A Evaluated By Project Residents

Problem Evaluation	Problems*			
	People Steal %	Fights %	Houses Too Old %	Playground Space %
A Problem	51.9	26.6	59.7	49.4
Not A Problem	42.9	67.5	36.4	45.5
	People Do Not Care %	Project Not Safe at Night %	Houses Too Cold In Winter %	Houses Too Hot in Summer %
	33.8	51.9	49.4	33.8
	62.3	42.9	44.2	59.7
	Houses Need Paint %	Are Not Clean %	Houses Too Small %	Faucets Leak %
	76.6	27.3	16.9	29.9
	16.9	64.9	76.6	62.3

*Percentages do not total 100% due to missing data.

Table 3

Project Needs Assessment By Residents (N=77)

Needs Assessment	Needs*				
	Park %	Community Center %	Playground %	Better Management %	Safety %
Needed	37.7	49.9	54.5	45.5	50.6
Not Needed	51.9	36.8	35.1	44.2	49.0

*Percentages do not total 100% due to missing data.

The only area in which the length of residence (See Tables 4 and 5) in the project appeared to have a significant ($p \leq .05$) "socializing effect" was in relation to respondent's evaluation of living conditions. The more recent the tenant, the less favorable the evaluation. Length of residence was not significantly related to any of the following: projected length of residence, project satisfaction, safety, definition and evaluation of houses as too old, and the need for better management. Project satisfaction related significantly ($p \leq .01$) to living conditions, projected duration of residence ($p \leq .05$), safety ($p \leq .01$) and family life cycle for parents with children under five years. ($p \leq .01$) It is not surprising that tenants with younger children are dissatisfied since there is nothing in the project (except daycare facilities) for toddlers. Michelson (1970) states, "the importance of housing type and immediate grounds would appear to refer to young and middle aged children predominately (1970:102). Project time in residence related significantly to safety ($p \leq .01$), the need for better management ($p \leq .05$) and project satisfaction ($p \leq .05$), but not to living conditions (which primarily related to physical conditions) (See also Rossi, 1955)

Relationships Between Time in Project, Projected Time, Living Conditions and Project Satisfaction*

(n=77)

Variable	Time in Project X^2	df	Level of Sig.	Projected Time X^2	df	Level of Sig.	Living Conditions. X^2	df	Level of Sig.	Project Sat. X^2	df	Level of Sig.
Time in Project	----------			10.4	9	ns	13.1	2	$p \leq .05$	4.4	3	ns
Projected Time	10.4	9	ns	----------			9.0	6	ns	8.5	3	
Living Conditions	13.3	6	$p \leq .05$	9.0	6	ns	----------			10.1	2	$p \leq .01$
Projected Sat.	4.4	3	ns	8.5	3	$p \leq .05$	10.1	2	$p \leq .01$	----------		

*The emphasis is not particularly on the tests of significance for generalization or hypothesis testing, but as an indicant that variables are related beyond the realm of chance.

Time in Project, Projected Time, Living Conditions and Project Satisfaction as Each Relates to Selected Problems, Needs and Family Life-Cycle Patterns*

(N=77)

Varibles	Time in Project X^2	df	Level of Sig.	Projected Time X^2	df	Level of Sig.	Living Conditions X^2	df	Level of Sig.	Project Sat. X^2	df	Level of Sig.
Safty	0.6	3	ns	15.2	3	$p \leq .01$	2.0	2	ns	14.5	1	$p \leq .01$
Need Better Management	2.0	3	ns	7.9	2	$p \leq .05$	7.9	2	$p \leq .05$	1.0	1	ns
Houses Too Old	0.8	3	ns	6.3	3	ns	9.4	2	$p \leq .01$	3.1	1	ns
Family Life Cycle Children Years 0-5	17.2	3	$p \leq .01$	3.1	3	ns	7.6	2	$p \leq .05$	5.2	1	$p \leq .01$
Children Years 6-10	6.1	3	ns	2.3	3	ns	0.4	2	ns	0.1	1	ns
Children Years 11-16	4.4	3	ns	2.0	3	ns	1.0	2	ns	0.7	1	ns

*Age and single-parent/dual family heads were measured as independent variables, but failed to yeild significance in any measure.

Locus of control for project responsibility was tapped by three questions. These questions dealt with department ownership and apartment maintenance (See Table 6) The locus of control measures indicate that residents had little desire to own their own apartments, yet felt they should be responsible for maintaining the property, including cleaning the apartments and area, as well as painting (if they were supplied with paint). This need for control is not surprising in view of the fact that much of the lives of low-income residents are controlled by external forces, i.e. public welfare, public housing, public education (see also Lamanna, 1964).

Table 6

Locus of Control and Apartment Ownership and Responsibility (N=77)

Variable	No.	%
Housing Project Should Be:		
Rented to the People	[illegible]	61.0
Sold to the People	14	18.2
Sold to the City	5	6.5
Sold to the State	6	7.8
Would You Prefer To:		
Clean Project Yourself	43	55.8
Have Project Manager Clean	18	23.4
Have City Clean	15	19.5
Would You Prefer To:		
Paint Your House Yourself	54	70.1
Have Project Manager Paint	21	27.3
Do Not Need Paint	1	1.3

When asked about education, recreational and work aspirations, 69% of the respondents said they would attend adult education classes and 55% displayed a desire to work. The primary work contingency was child care. In terms of recreation, more than 50% of the resident respondents had earlier identified playground space and a community center as a need of the project, and for themselves wanted to learn sewing and have a flea market. (See Table 7)

Assessability to recreational facilities is especially problematic for low-income residents. First, recreation costs money and even travel to recreational facilities beyond those which are immediate, or both costly and involve transportation. Neither the funds nor the transportation is readily accessible to the poor (Caploritz, 1963). Further, low mobility among the lower socioeconomic groups restricts both their perceptions of the alternatives in the environment and a narrower range of social and economic activity (Bell and Boat, 1957 and Foley, 1957). The restricted perspective of low-income Mexican-Americans in relation to the community is documented by Orleans (1967). Thus it appears, that for the lower income groups, the immediate environment assumes utmost importance. For this population, access to recreational and educational facilities, which often ring the outskirts of the city, is not readily available. The immediate physical and social environment of low-income, inner city residents becomes the totality of their world. The Department of Housing and Urban Development recognizes this condition when they state, "The recreational needs of low and moderate income persons in HUD assisted housing should receive priority attention." (HUD, 1972:11).

Table 7

Educational, Recreational And Work Aspirations
(W=77)

Response	Variable*				
	Attend Adult Classes %	Learn Arts and Crafts %	Learn Sewing %	Join Club %	Have Flea Mkt. %
Yes, I Would Like To:	68.8	31.2	41.6	37.7	77.9
No, I Would Not Like To:	26.0	51.9	41.6	54.1	13.0

	Variable*				
	Learn Work Skills %	Work %	Work If Child Care %	Work If Trans. %	Work If Trained %
*Percentages do not equal 100% due to missing data	27.3	55.8	40.3	20.8	33.8
	54.5	42.9	43.9	32.3	35.1

Spatial determinism (Festinger, et. al., 1950) appears to be a salient factor in the neighboring patterns of the San Juan residents. As Table 8 indicates, slightly more than 50% said that their friends live one or two houses away, with only 13% of the residents responding that their friends lived more than eight houses away. Thirty-nine percent of the residents talked to only one or two neighbors, whereas 41.6% talked to six neighbors or more. Thus, although friendships appear spatial determined, neighboring appears to go beyond such limits. The majority of respondents are seeming unconcerned with the educational level of their neighbors, and would prefer to live in a mixed neighborhood, rather than one which is racially segregated.

Table 8

Neighboring Patterns and Neighborhood Values
(N=77)

Variable	Response* No	%
Friends Live:		
One-Two Houses Away	39	50.6
Three-Five Houses Away	13	16.9
Five-Eight Houses Away	2	2.6
Further	10	13.0
I Talk To:		
One neighbor	17	22.1
Two Neighbors	13	16.0
Five Neighbors	10	13.0
Six Neighbors or More	32	41.6

Table 3 con't

Variable	Response* No.	%
I Would Like My Neighbors To Be:		
Better Educated Than Myself	22	28.6
To Have The Same Education As Myself	13	16.9
I am Not Concerned About Neighbors Education	40	51.9
I Would Prefer To Live In:		
An Anglo Neighborhood	5	6.2
A Mexican-American Neighborhood	27	35.1
Mixed Neighborhood	41	53.2

*Percentages which do not total 100% are due to missing data.

According to Michelson, (1970) among those areas popularly known for the lack of neighboring in their confines is public housing (1970:188). Michelson contention appears supported by Hartman's (1963) findings concerning the attitudes of relocated slum dwellers who disliked public housing and found their neighbors uncongenial. Among a sample of Puerto Ricans, Hollingshead and Rogler found much the same distrust of fellow tenants (or potential tenants) in public housing. Further, Hollingshead and Rogler found that 86% of the men and 71% of the women disliked their public housing.

Yet tenant distrust, minimal neighboring and general dislikes of the project do not appear characteristic of the San Juan residents. Forty percent of the respondents talked to six or more neighbors and in assessing project problems (Table 2) only 33.8% of the tenants said their fellow tenants did not care about the project. Where the project and project services were evaluated (See Table 9) 71.4% of the tenants said they liked living in the project and 78% defined project conditions from fair to good.

Only 13% defined the police as bad, although 51% once again stated the project was unsafe. Even new tenants did not show significant differences in project satisfaction, projected duration of residence, definitions of safety and attitudes toward project management. The mutality and neighboring attitudes may provide the underlying foundation for a feeling of community and community organization if there was a common focus of attention or a set of superordinate goals.

Table 9

Project and Services Evaluation (N=77)

Variable	No*	%*
Project Safety:		
Safe	38	49.4
Unsafe	39	50.6
Police Are:		
Good	20	26.0
Fair	31	40.3
Bad	10	13.0
Unimportant	13	16.9
Utilize Project Clinic:		
Yes	23	29.9
No	51	66.2
Project Satisfaction:		
Like Living in Project	55	71.4
Do Not Like Living in Project	19	24.7
Living Conditions:		
Conditions are Good	16	20.7
Conditions are Fair	44	57.1
Conditions are Poor	17	22.1

*Where number and percentage do not total 100% it is due to missing data.

Mutality and neighboring may well be explained by the high proportion of female headed households both in the project and in the sample. Bellin and Koiesberg found in Syracuse, New York, that husbandless mothers have three to four times the neighboring in public housing as outside it. These residents had a well defined need for mutual assistance (defined as a prerequisite for neighboring by Michelson, 1970), and there are more likely to be people within the same building who are in the same boat in public, rather than private housing. Significantly, in the four projects studied, an appreciably higher number of female head of households then mothers from joint families (55% to 40%) put a value on friendliness in neighbors.

An additional rationale for neighboring, is that similar to the areas of recreation and education discussed earlier, the low income husbandless mother has fewer alternatives for developing friendships. With limited finances, small children and low geographic mobility, her options are limited, and the choice usually narrows to selection of friendships from the immediate environment, or remaining isolated. An alternative solution is to facilitate neighboring on a larger social milieu than one or two houses away, and thus initiating additional options. This becomes one foundation for the plan relating the architectural design and recommendations of section III.

III

Recommendations and Design: Phase Three

Predicated upon demographics, user-input data and additional resources, including urban research and the rationale of public housing,[11] the following are the recommendations of the design team:

1. The coordination of an identifiable, organized, accessible educational, recreational and social service center for the San Juan Project.[12]

The center should incooperate existing facilities and services, which are currently dispersed, poorly identified, and as indicated by unstructured interviews and the user-input survey, poorly utilized (See Figure 5).[13]

The center should provide for additional necessary facilities including playgrounds (specified and identifiable by age groups), safety and education.

Ideally the center should become the locus for community identity, community consciousness and community activity. As Goodman states the objective, " ideally the community block is a powerful social force, starting from being neighbors, meeting on the streets, and sharing community services, the residents become conscious of their common interests" (1960:55).

a. Architectural Design. The design for the multi-purpose community center is specified in Figure 6. The design includes:

(1) The utilization of an existing open site in the center of the project, adjacent to Strom Elementary

(2) A central location, oriented toward three new buildings, an educational building,[14] a recreational building[15] and an employment building,[16] all adjacent and opening on a central mall, and across from a covered multi-purpose basketball court (the court is an existing structure, but the cover will allow additional utilization).

(3) Three distinct playgrounds, with the toddler playground adjacent to and in full view of the education building, the intermediate playground

adjacent to both the recreational and educational building and in full view, the teenage playground is separated and removed from younger children.

(4) All other supportive services, which previously existed, are centralized in existing buildings surrounding the new structures. These include the coordination of welfare, juvenile and elderly services in one services building, administrative, health services and sick clinic in one building, mental health and mental retardation in one building and child-day care services in two facing buildings, with a playground between the two structures (defensible and can be used at different times by different age groups), and the child-care, preschool buildings located adjacent and easily accessible to the education, recreation, recreation and mental health and mental retardation center buildings.

(5) The proposed site plan attempts to facilitate a feeling of safety and community by way of well-defined, well lighted walkways, un-interferred by public streets, and culminating in the community centered facilities. The unifying pattern of approach paths to the community center area should give the community clear identity, with common grounds, the impression of a well-organized community and provide for defensible space (Newman, 1972).

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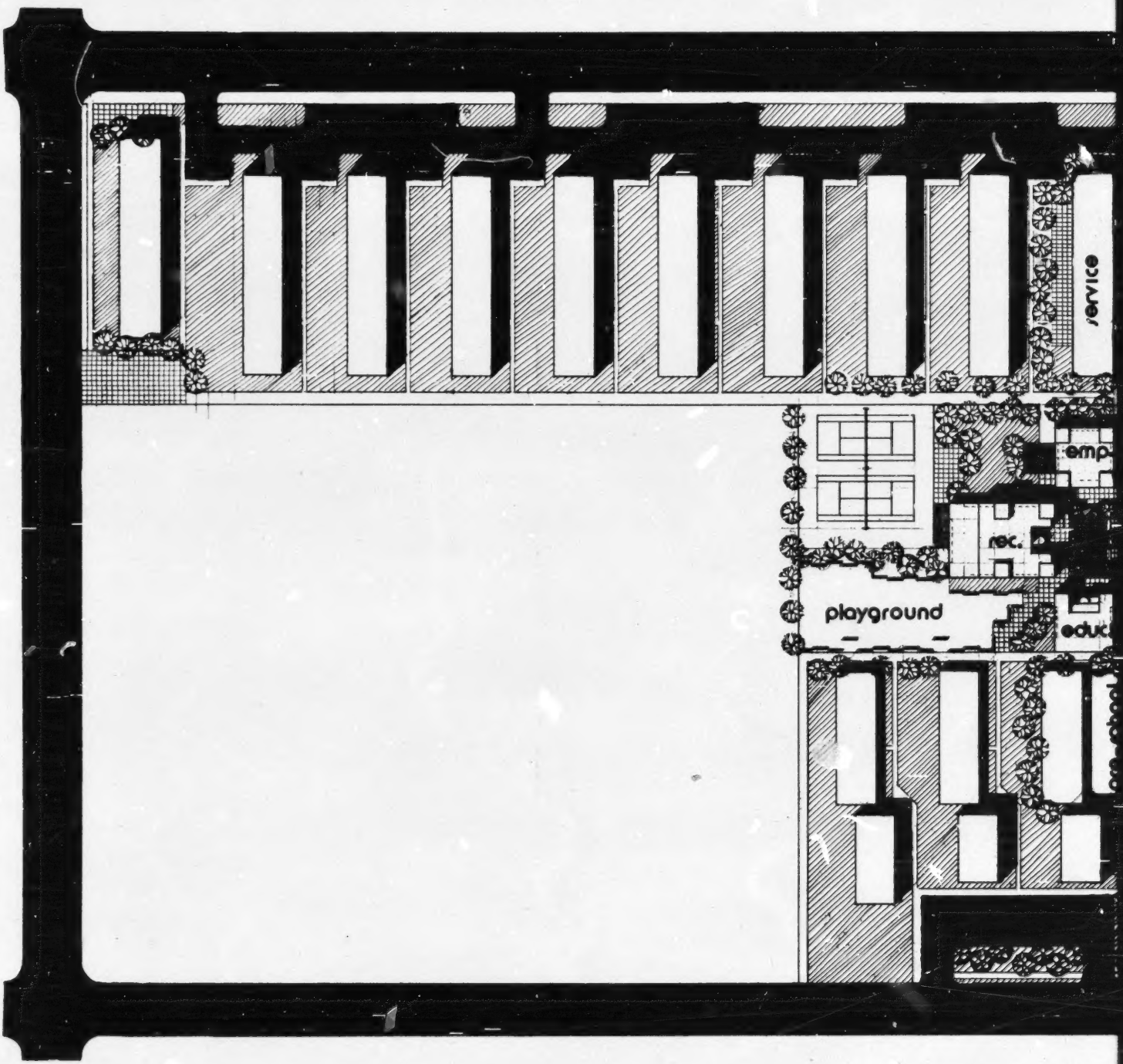

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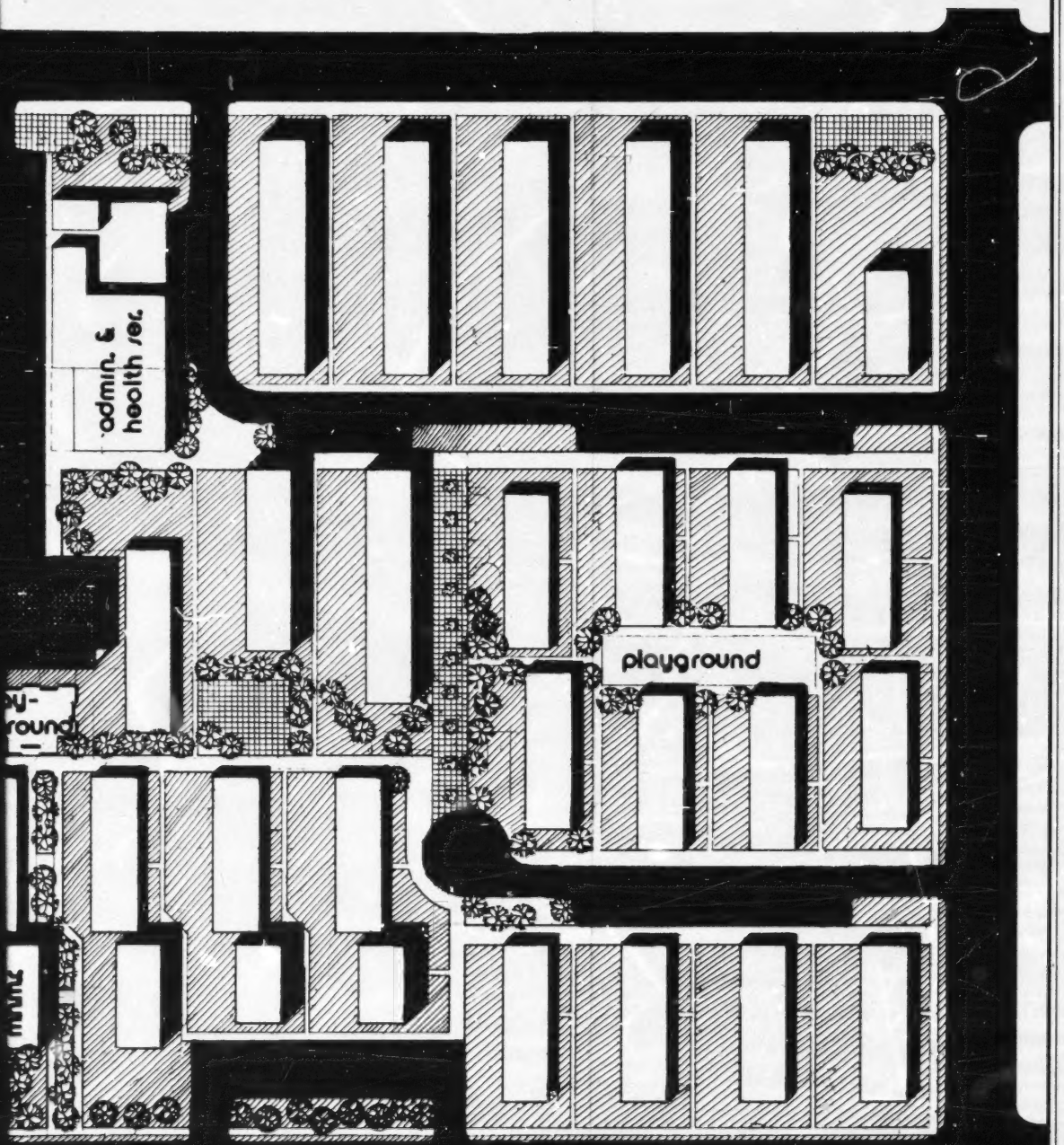
san juan community center



site plan

scale 0 50 100 150 feet

An additional safety factor is provided by an overhang ramp on the recreation building (the tallest building) to accommodate security services which could provide a watchful eye for the total area. The closed cal-der-sac street provides a facility for a flea market, or other group activities.

2. Every effort should be made to involve residents in paid and unpaid jobs within the project, i.e. paid security, childcare, recreation facilitator, adult education classes, and unpaid voluntary security force, child-care coop, food coop, etc.

3. Residents should be encouraged to maintain the buildings and area, especially with the provision of facilities such as paint, materials for repairs and a community committee for maintenance and upkeep.

IV

Summary and Conclusions

In the main, this design-team found the process model for collaboration between social scientist and architect both practicable and productive. Although this report only follows the model through phase 3, (phases 4,5 and 6 will be explored during and following construction), the positive returns are increased knowledge concerning the user-input approach, new and verification of existing knowledge concerning the articulation between human social behavior and the physical environment-specifically in low-income, inner-city public housing, and increasing accountability for both the social scientist and the architect. The social scientist as a component

of the design-team is provided with a systemic linkage for having policy impact, without abdicating his position as scientist, and the architect has a resource facility for fostering responsible design, oriented toward the users needs as well as the values of the architect, and going beyond the cosmetics of the design.[16]

Michelson (1970) states that planners and architects draw site plans which specify where people will live with respect to other people" (1970:169). He further asks, "Do they at the same time specify social groupings of the same people? Can designers if they so desire, intellectually plan 'healthy' social lives for people as part of on overall master plan for an area?" (1970169). Michelson answers his own questions when he says, "What exists at present is an unprecedented opportunity to 'control' the development of the future city. Both the design professions and the social sciences have advanced to the point that talk of design for the optimal combination of urban environments for the individuals populating any particular city is no longer idle chatter, given a continuation of recent interest in the control over physical chaos," (1972:216).

Good man sums up our point, when he says, "One of man's most critical needs is for principles for designing spaces that will maintain a healthy density, a healthy interaction rate, a proper amount of involvement and a continuing sense of ethnic identification. The creation of principles requires the combined efforts of many diverse specialists who are working closely together on a massive scale (1961:137).

Footnotes

1. Michelson (1970) warns us that the articulation of human behavior in a systematic fashion with the physical environment is still an assumption of modern urban development. He goes on to say, "the assessment of this complex assumption is a frontier of urban sociology." (1970:4)

2. Gelfand (1975) cites as a case in point the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis. This project is currently being demolished to a great fanfare of publicity and snickering about the failure of public housing. Yet this public housing was designed by one of the country's most noted architects, and after completion, hailed as a major architectural achievement. As Gelfand says "while all of Pruitt-Igoe's problems can not be attributed to the architect's failure to consider sociological issues" (1975:14), yet the input of the sociologist, especially in the areas of urban research on the "problems" of low income housing, neighboring and interaction patterns, the subcultural variables involved in the target population, and high-rise living and parenting, might have allowed the architect to avoid some of the design-interaction problems.

3. One of the primary responsibilities of the social scientists in the "Initiation" phase is to inform the architect of the feasible possibilities as well as the limitations of social science research. This should expedite an effective and realistic division of labor.

4. The architect must inform the social scientist of the architect's "accountability", both to his clients, the user (client and user may, but are not always one and the same) and to his profession. In the final analysis, the design decisions are made by the architect, since he carries the primary responsibility for this structure(s).

5. A U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development publication entitled Urban Recreations states, "Few examples exist today of a good central city environment. Its foundation must be suitable modern or rehabilitated housing and well staffed and uncrowded schools that are accepted by the community. Effective mass transit systems as an alternative to the automobile are required. Open space and community facilities which are multipurpose and programmed to immediate neighborhood requirements are also needed. Employment assistance and manpower training which matches people with accessible employment opportunities is a continuing need. These are not impossible or unreasonable goals." (H.U.D., 1972: 21)

6. One of the major recommendations put forth by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development is that a simple review of racial economic and demographic characteristics of residents does not carry the full burden for architectural design nor does it necessarily provide for a design that will meet the social and psychological needs both in terms of housing and in terms of the larger urban environment for the low-income inner-city resident. "At best this data can only serve as a generalized basis for assumption. A true assessment of need can only come from the people themselves." (H.U.D. 1972:32).

7. The Housing and Community Development Act under Title I--"Community Development" provides over $50 million for San Antonio in the next three years. The funds are provided to eliminate and prevent slums and provide improved community service, to help "communities provide a decent housing, suitable living environment and economic opportunities principally for persons of low and moderate income." (H.U.D.: 1974)

8. In this research, design-team, the architect engaged in the majority of unstructed interviews and the sociologist functioned as a non-participant observer. The rationale for this division of labor can be found in the fact that the architect was Mexican-American, could speak Spanish when necessary, and himself grew up as a resident of the San Juan Homes and thus was quite familiar with the area and the complex.

9. Under HUD guidelines, local housing authorities are required to provide the facilities for services, and these responsibilities are specified in the following: "1) facilitating the provision of on-site services of local agencies by providing indoor and outdoor community space, and 2) encouraging tenants and others to use these services" (H.U.D., 1972:42).

10. Sommer (1972) maintains that the user (especially when the architect is servicing a non-resident client, i.e. the federal, state or local government) should have input into the design process, to the degree that the structure influences the life of the user.

11. An example of the rationale of public housing is exemplified in the following excerpts from a San Antonio Housing Authority brochure which quotes Dr. L.A. Duce, Vice Chairman of the San Antonio Housing Authority, who delivered these statements at a groundbreaking ceremony marking the construction of a 199 unit low rent family apartment complex:

> "...At the heart of our American way of life are the convictions that our most important assets are people and the highest values we can foster are human values."
>
> "...For whatever improves the conditions for successful and happy living on the part of some of us enriches the life of all of us."
>
> "All our institutions, both public and private, must be judged by the way they enrich the quality of American Life and make possible the fulfillment of human potential."

12. The Presidents Commission on Urban Housing argues that housing and the urban environment must be viewed in an integrative context. "Housing is not only a matter of a roof and walls but of a neighborhood and a society. People need not just a housing unit but a neighborhood-a unit in a social setting.

And a national housing policy must look at the relation of housing to the web of living...better community facilities and services are necessary if a housing program is to succeed." (Presidents Commission on Urban Housing, 1971: 193).

13. The rationale for coordinating and organizing these services is to better provide the kinds of recreational and community services which are the responsibilities of local housing authorities. (See Footnote #9)

14. The purposes of the education building are first, to provide a center and facility for educating the members of the community who have already shown an active interest in learning. Second, to provide an impetus for those individuals who are not interested, but may become oriented toward learning if such an environment were available. Third, to provide an example for the youth, indicating that their parents can actually make changes in their lives through education. This should testify to the adolescent in the community that education is a facility for the improvement of one's current condition. In this instance, two classrooms are provided for teaching. These have movable partitions that can be folded away to provide one large seminar room for showing movies or special presentations. Two workshops are also provided for learning skills. A small library containing literature pertinent to the adult school's curriculum is also specified.

15. The proposed recreation building provides primarily adult recreation

facilities. The intent is far more reaching than recreation per se. As previously specified, recreation includes education and interaction. It is a place where people can interact and hopefully unite to provide for a healthy community atmosphere. The center can act as an information center for community affairs. Ideally, it could be the main meeting place of those concerned residents who may have common grounds for taking a voice in public affairs.

16. The proposed employment office is to provide services not only for the project's inhabitants, but also for the surrounding community. Area residents who need or want to seek employment, and are limited in mobility, will have an area facility. The primary objective, ideally,is to stimulate educational incentives by providing jobs for the low income community and attempts to provide and probably initiate jobs for those who most gravely need them. It can act as a regional liaison facility which can help people help each other.

17. It is not the exclusive idea of the social scientist to provide a social science-architecture design term. There are numerous indices within the design professions, that, they too, are moving in this direction. (See especially The American Institute Research Report, Social Science and Design). The American Institute of Architects has a "research center", headed by a sociologist, which has as its expressed purpose the accessibility of social science data on design problems.

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